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## DUTCH AND FLEMISH COLONIZATION IN MEDIAEVAL GERMANY<sup>1</sup>

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The progress made in recent years in economic and social history has changed both the axis and the orbit of historical interpretation. Political, dynastic, and military history, the history of governments, laws, and institutions, has ceased to interest many students of history in these days. The Aristotelian mind of Western Europe and America has discovered new sources of information and new subjects of investigation. No one of these questions is more important to the mediaevalist than that of demography.

Among the discoveries which the modern study of mediaeval history has made is the profoundly organic and heterogeneous nature of mediaeval society—the complexity of its composition, the variety of its texture. The sharp cleavage once supposed to have existed between the three classes of mediaeval society, we now know, was not a hard and narrow line of separation, but a series of social gradations, some of them so slight that their parallax, so to speak, has not yet been accurately determined.<sup>2</sup>

The light cast upon the condition of the mediaeval peasantry in the course of these social and economic researches has been

<sup>1</sup> The literature upon this subject is very large. It is cited fully in Kretschmer, *Historische Geographie von Mitteleuropa* (Berlin, 1904), 371-72; in Schulze, *Die Kolonisierung und Germanisierung der Gebiete zwischen Saale und Elbe* (Leipzig, 1896), 129; in Kötzschke, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 109. These books have brief accounts. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte* (3d ed., 1906), III, 309-42, has a great amount of suggestive material packed into a small compass. R. Kötzschke's *Quellen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912) is an indispensable collection of the charters. Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Schmeidler (Leipzig: Hahn, 1909), is the best narrative source. May I also mention my article, "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," in the *American Journal of Theology*, April and July, 1916; and another, "German East Colonization," in *Proceedings of American Historical Association*, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on "Profitable Fields of Investigation in Mediaeval History," *American Historical Review* (April, 1913), 500.

enormous. One of the most interesting of these findings is the startling discovery that the rural population of Europe in the Middle Ages was probably more nomadic and less sedentary than the lower classes of society today.<sup>1</sup> These displacements of population were not upon the gigantic scale of the German migrations in the fifth century or the Norse and Hungarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries. Nevertheless they were mass movements of large dimension—waves of popular migration sometimes succeeding one another through a series of years, which were primarily motived by desire for improvement of material condition and powerfully affected by economic distress and the pressure of social forces. The Frankish colonization of the Spanish March in the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious is an example of such a movement;<sup>2</sup> more important and more typical is the history of the eastward expansion of the German people under the Saxon, Franconian, and Hohenstaufen rulers, and their colonization of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia.<sup>3</sup>

In this pioneer labor Dutch and Flemish immigrants from the Low Countries played no unimportant part. The emigration of the peasantry of modern Holland and Belgium in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and their settlement in numerous scattered colonies in Lower Germany was due to the simultaneous operation of expulsive forces at home and the attraction which a new land presented.

Mediaeval Belgium shared with Lombardy the honor of being the most densely populated region of Western Europe. The heart

<sup>1</sup> This the late Achille Luchaire, *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus* (English trans.), 404-6, clearly demonstrated. Cf. Powicke's review of the French original in *English Historical Review*, XXV, 565. The conclusion amply confirmed the previous researches of Lamprecht, *Etudes sur l'état économique de la France* (French trans. by Marignan), 138-39, 222-23; Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France*, II, livre iii, prem. partie. For Germany the last half of Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, Vol. III, to mention no other work, shows the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> See Imbart de la Tour, "Les Colonies agricoles et l'occupation des terres désertes à l'époque carolingienne," in his *Questions d'Histoire*, 31-68.

<sup>3</sup> See my article, "German East Colonization," *Proceedings of American Historical Association*, 1916, and another, "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *American Journal of Theology*, XX (1916), 203-30, 372-89.

of the Frankish monarchy had been here, and the intimate association between the Merovingian and Carolingian sovereigns and the church had resulted in the founding of many monasteries in the land. Nowhere else in Europe perhaps were they more thickly clustered, with their ample lands and their thousands of serfs exploiting the rich glebe farms. Here were the great historic abbeys of St. Vaast in Arras, St. Bavon in Ghent, St. Martin in Utrecht, St. Géry and St. Sepulchre in Cambrai, St. Laurence and St. Lambert in Liège, and of St. Omer, St. Quentin, St. Bertin, and St. Riquier, formed of clustered communities of artisans, craftsmen, and petty tradesmen dwelling in separate "quarters" around the monastery walls, with the scattered villages of servile husbandmen on the abbey lands stretching roundabout,<sup>1</sup> and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries grown into more or less independent towns. Besides these great abbeys there were many others, Corbie, Lobbes, St. Trond, Nivelles, Andennes, Calmont, St. Hubert, Stavelot, Fosses, Alden-Eyck, Brogne, etc.

What these great monasteries did on a large scale in clearing forests and draining moor and swamp lands<sup>2</sup> those among the peasantry who were free did in less degree. For, as lay and ecclesiastical feudalism expanded, throwing its coils over the persons and lands of the free peasantry, rather than submit to servile conditions and bondage to the glebe they found refuge in remoter parts of the wide waste of moor and fen, exactly as the population of the uplands fled to the forest, and there established their tiny villages, and by ditching and diking and draining redeemed a few acres of soil from the reluctant grasp of the sluggish waters. Cubes of turf served for building blocks for their cottages, and peat was their fuel.<sup>3</sup>

But in the course of time, as in the uplands the feudality appropriated the forests and reduced the free forest villages to serfdom, so in the Low Countries the feudal nobles gradually penetrated into the remote fen regions and extended their seignorial

<sup>1</sup> See Flach, *op. cit.*, II, livre iii, c. 7; Blanchard, *La Flandre*, 153-69; and my article in *Journal of Political Economy* (November, 1915), 872-73.

<sup>2</sup> Blanchard, 170-201.

<sup>3</sup> Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, III (4th ed.), 336.

sway over the free marsh villages.<sup>1</sup> With the spread of the feudal and manorial régime came the evils of private war, which neither the truce of God nor the civil power (for the civil power was that of the lords themselves) was able to suppress, in addition to which the burden of heavy and vexatious manorial exactions was imposed upon the peasantry. From this condition of things emigration was the readiest form of relief.

Furthermore the lot of the peasant was made worse by the vicious commercial policy of some of the nobles, whose heavy taxation upon production, distribution, and consumption in the form of numberless *tonlieux*, *péages*, and *maltotes* impoverished the peasants and discouraged or even ruined enterprise. The bishop of Munster, for example, closed to the Frisians their market of the Ems, whither they had been accustomed to bring their cattle for barter. No other market was open to them because the Danes and the merchants of Bremen and Hamburg demanded money, a commodity which was very scarce in Friesland. As a consequence the Frisian cattle, practically the sole resource of the country, became diseased from inbreeding, and starvation ensued.<sup>2</sup>

Industrial coercion, again, was a factor in provoking emigration, for nowhere in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the development of industry and town population greater than in Belgium. If the burghers secured freedom of work and measurable political rights they stayed; if coercion succeeded they sought to migrate. What development had industry attained and in how far was it emancipated from the influence of agriculture and a rural environment and become urban? Levasseur has shown that a change had supervened in the relations between agriculture and industry by the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> It goes without saying that this change was intimately connected with the emancipation of the servile classes and the birth of

<sup>1</sup> The history of this swamp reclamation and forest clearing in mediaeval Belgium has been the subject of various studies: Blanchard, chaps. xi-xiii; Duvivier, "Hospites: défrichements en Europe et spécialement dans nos contrées aux XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup>, et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue d'histoire et d'archéologie*, Vol. I; Van de Putte, "Esquisse sur la mise en culture de la Flandre occidentale," *Ann. de la soc. d'émulation de Bruges*, Vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1900), 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des classes ouvrières* (1st ed.), I, 173 f.; cf. 320-21, and Lamprecht, *L'état économique de France*, 241-47.

the burgher class in the towns. There is no need to enter here into consideration of this complex and thorny question. But the tendency to freedom of industry and the formation of industrial combinations like the guilds, as everyone knows, were bitterly resented by the nobility, who tried to maintain the serfdom of industry quite as much as the serfdom of agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

An additional factor which induced migration in the Middle Ages, perhaps the most general of all influences, was famine. The occurrence of famine was not always due to adverse weather conditions. It is true that a hard winter which killed the peasant's seed corn in the cellars, or a drought, or a prolonged wet season was often terribly destructive of the crops. But aside from these physical phenomena famine was often engendered, at least locally, by other causes, such as feudal war, exhaustive taxation both of production and distribution, in addition to which the rudimentary system of agriculture prevailing, with crude farming implements and ignorance of the use of fertilizers, must be taken into account.

Since Lamprecht deplored the absence of any monograph upon the history of mediaeval famine, the gap has been filled, at least for Germany and the Low Countries, by Curschmann's admirable book.<sup>2</sup> He has shown that in Belgium famine occurred four times in the eleventh century, nine times in the twelfth, and twice in the thirteenth. There is most certainly a connection between these hunger conditions—there was a three years' famine in 1144-47—and the huge emigration which took place from Belgium in the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Under stress of such privation no feudal lord

<sup>1</sup> Levasseur, I, 167; Guérard, *Polyptique d'Irminon*, I, 471 f., 717 f., 729 f.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 2, p. 162, and compare the reviews in *Revue Historique*, *English Historical Review*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, and *Vierteljahrschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, all of which eulogize the book as a very valuable work.

<sup>3</sup> Curschmann, 40 and 140-41. He compares it, 8, with the great drought in Europe in 1847 and its effect upon emigration, particularly from Germany and Ireland. In the latter country the potato crop had also failed the year before. The effect of these "hard times" in provoking popular discontent and so promoting the revolution of 1848 has not yet been studied. Over-population and under-production are sometimes the positive and the negative way of saying the same thing, and over-population in the Middle Ages was a very prevalent cause of migration. See for Belgium, Blanchard, 485-88; Curschmann, 199; Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 135-40; for Germany, Püschel, *Anwachsen der deutschen Städte in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen kolonial Bewegung*, 13-15; Wendt, *Die Germanisierung der Länder östlich der Elbe*, II, 17-18. I have given some details in the two articles of mine cited in n. 3, p. 160.

could have been able to retain his tenantry. *Propter caristiam colono fugiente, plurimi vici deserti remansere*, reads a chronicle. The cattle were slaughtered for lack of fodder and to furnish food. When they were consumed nothing but flight remained as a recourse. It is impossible to avoid this conclusion, even if one is not always able to establish a direct nexus between any given famine and any given migration. The simultaneousness of the two events was not accidental.

When the Friesland or Flemish peasant betook himself to the refuge of the marshes in order to escape from feudal oppression he found only a precarious freedom even there. For he lived ever in peril of the sea. The low coast, the many deep tidal estuaries, the flat plains across which the Rhine, the Vaal, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and their affluents meandered, and which often overflowed their low banks in time of freshet, the salt marshes, the swamps—all these conditions exposed the population to floods which were sometimes terrible in their devastation.<sup>1</sup> Inundation was a power-

<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the first century A.D. Pliny, the Elder, who had seen service in the Roman province of Lower Germany, described the condition of the Frisians in terms which are applicable to them a thousand years later. He says: "In this region the wretched natives, occupying either the tops of hills or artificial mounds of turf raised out of the reach of the highest tides, build their small huts, which look like sailing vessels when the water covers the land, and like wrecks when it has retired. For fuel they use a kind of turf [i.e., peat] dug by hand and dried rather in the wind than in the sun, and with this earth they cook their food and warm their bodies. Their only drink is rain-water collected in ditches under the eaves." There is an ancient study of inundations in Flanders in the *Séances de l'Académie . . . de Belgique*, I (1777), 63 f. Blanchard, chaps. ix-xi, is very interesting, as is also Curschmann, who gives extracts from the sources. Montagu Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, chap. xi, deals with tidal and storm effects of the English Channel on the south coast of England. The year 1405-6 wrought terrible havoc along all the North Sea coast. It was perhaps the greatest storm in history, for it practically raged, with brief intermissions, over the whole of Europe from November, 1405, to April, 1406. Bruges, the greatest commercial emporium of the north, was ruined by it, for the sea overwhelmed the great tide gates at the mouth of the Zwin, regarded even in Dante's time as an engineering wonder, and so filled the harbor of Bruges with sand that nothing but the lightest draft vessels could enter. At the same time this great storm cleared a huge island of sand out of the mouth of the Scheldt and opened Antwerp, which hitherto had been a mere fishing village, to trade, and so it succeeded Bruges in commercial history. Popular opinion associated this mighty storm with the death of Tamerlane, who died February 19, 1405, but the news was not known in Western Europe until March, 1406. Wylie, *History of the Reign of Henry IV*, II, 470-75, has gathered a mass of data regarding its effects in England. The winter 1407-8 was the "Great Winter"—one of the most famous known.

ful incentive to emigration.<sup>1</sup> The peasant who saw his little farmstead destroyed in a day, the labor of years of tilling, draining, ditching, diking, go for worse than naught, his crops ruined, his cattle drowned or lost in the awful confusion of a great flood, had no heart left to begin the struggle all over again in such a land.<sup>2</sup>

Constant warfare against the sea was required despite the partial protection of a strip of sand dunes on the coast.<sup>3</sup> In Holland and Friesland, to the east of the Scheldt, this barrier had been broken down by inundations early in the Christian Era, and as the land progressively sank, relative to the sea, district after district was turned from arable land to swamp or perhaps completely submerged. So the islands along the coast were reduced in size, cut to pieces, or washed away; so the inland Zuider Zee was made an arm of the ocean in the years following 1200; and so shortly afterward were the Dollart and the Jadebusen scooped out by the voracious sea, which took, along with the land, the villages that happened to stand upon it. A flood of November 18, 1421, at the mouth of the Waal River, destroyed no less than seventy-two hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

To the Frisian and Flemish peasantry, which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries suffered under the combination of adverse conditions which I have endeavored to summarize, Lower Germany beckoned invitingly, and thousands of them trekked eastward filled with new energy and fresh hope, seeking to found new homes for themselves and to find new economic and political freedom in a land where the population was sparse, land cheap, and little or no capital necessary to begin with.

We catch the echo of this hope of the lowland emigrants of this time in the text of an old Flemish ballad which has been preserved:

<sup>1</sup> Püschel, 15.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious to note that the regions of Flanders most subject to inundation were least likely to suffer from famine. Curschmann, 21, suggests that the reason may be found perhaps in the fact that the peasants were often able to drive their cattle out of reach of the floods and so preserve them.

<sup>3</sup> Blanchard, chaps. ix and xi.

<sup>4</sup> Knüll, *Historische Geographie Deutschlands im Mittelalter*, 5-7.



Naer Oostland willen wy ryden,  
 Naer Oostland willen wy mée,  
 Al over die groene heiden,  
 Frisch over die heiden.  
 Daer isser een betere stêe  
 Als wy binnen Oostland komen  
 Al onder dat hooge huis,  
 Daer worden wy binnen gelaten,  
 Frisch over die heiden;  
 Zy heeten ons willekom zyn.<sup>1</sup>

The *Drang nach Osten* of the German peoples had long since been under way when the first "rush" of settlers out of Friesland and Flanders into North Germany began early in the twelfth century. From the time of Henry the Fowler, under the lee of the battle line, the frontier of colonial settlement had advanced, conquering the stubborn soil and the no less stubborn resistance of the Wends, until by the term of the Franconian epoch Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and the Thuringian Reichsland were studded with German settlements; the initial stages of a permanent political and ecclesiastical system were firmly grounded; Magdeburg, Bardwick, and Lübeck had become important trade centers; and colonies of German settlers from farther west, tempted by cheap land and the easy terms under which titles might be acquired, were established.

But the Flemish and the Frisian pioneer did not come into these regions until the subjugation or expulsion of the former Wendish peoples there had been accomplished by the sword of the Saxons through two centuries of almost unrelenting warfare against them, and the preliminary work of settlement made by German colonists. They were not men of the battle edge, but of the rear guard.<sup>2</sup>

For the land into which they came the Fleming and the Frisian were singularly adapted. In the high feudal age Lower Germany along the coast of the North Sea and the Baltic was an almost un-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Schulze, *Die Kolonisierung und Germanisierung der Gebiete zwischen Saale und Elbe*, 79; Lamprecht, *D.G.*, III, 342. Willems, *Oude Vlaemsche Liederen* (Ghent, 1848), 53, has claimed that this ballad is not of the twelfth century, but later. He prints the complete text on p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on "German East Colonization," *op. cit.*, for full exposition.

interrupted series of marshes and fens, which, owing to the sluggish flow of the rivers across the flat plain and the deep indentation of estuaries like the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe, sometimes extended a considerable distance inland. Mecklenburg and Pomerania were dotted with lakes. Even in the interior there was much bog land and some areas which were huge morasses.

The first German incomers into these regions had naturally avoided these places and appropriated for themselves the tilled soil of the conquered Wends. When almost all of this had been occupied, chiefly by the clergy and high feudality, the settlers, where possible, still clung to high ground and cleared the forests.

Before the coming of the Dutch and Flemings into Germany in the twelfth century the swamps and marshes, if used at all, were used only for pasturage<sup>1</sup> and occasionally, if not too wet, for hay meadows. But the German peasantry before their immigration knew little or nothing of the process of making such bottom lands arable.<sup>2</sup> The German feudal princes and prelates who imported these lowlanders by hundreds knew their value for swamp reclamation. Since Roman times dike-building and artificial drainage had been practiced in Flanders and Holland.<sup>3</sup>

It was the slow increase of population in Germany<sup>4</sup> and especially the enormous land hunger of the great proprietors, both lay and clerical, which gave a new value to these neglected spots and was the primary factor in inducing the bishops, abbots, and princes of Germany to bring in colonies of Dutch and Flemings. They were used to deep plowings in heavy soils. Moreover, the labor was without peril. It was a new country, but it was not exactly the frontier.

Intelligent nobles like Adolf of Holstein, Henry the Lion, and Albrecht the Bear vied with churchmen like the four great archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, Adalbert, Adalbero, Frederick, and

<sup>1</sup> Heinemann, *Albrecht der Bär*, 227; Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, II, 451.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *Ländische Ansiedelungen der Niederländer*, x.

<sup>3</sup> Heinemann, 143.

<sup>4</sup> For information on this head see Kötzschke, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch.*, 50-52, where much literature is cited.

Hardwich, with Bernhard of Hildesheim and Wichmann of Magdeburg, in promoting the immigration of these Frisian and Flemish settlers. The Cistercian monasteries, however, were the most active promoters of lowland colonization. Having been but recently established, this order found little place for itself in older Germany, where enormous areas of land had been for centuries in the hands of the Benedictines and Cluniacs. In consequence the Cistercians were compelled to found their houses in the New East of Germany just being opened, where land was still cheap, and, in the case of monks, could be acquired for nothing.<sup>1</sup>

Within the space of a hundred years the lower Weser, the whole valley of the Elbe from Meissen to Hamburg, the marshes of the Havel, the bottom lands of the Mulde, the Black and the White Elster, the banks of the Oder below Breslau, together with its affluents like the Netze, were peopled with these Dutch and Flemish settlers. Place-names like Hollern, Hollen, Hollernweg, Hollernklink, Hollernstück, Hollanderhof, Hollerndick, Hollerwisch, Hollerwettern, Hollerbrock, and other names of localities of Flemish origin like Flemsdorf, Flemingsthal, Vlammingen, tell the tale, which is legible even today upon the map of Germany.<sup>2</sup>

The methods of colonization varied between the extremes of the individual pioneer settler and the migration and settlement of groups of colonists, great or small in number. In the main, however, the latter was the practice. The day of the *homo migrans* of the Salic Code, and of the *hospes* of the annals and cartulaires of the ninth, tenth, and even eleventh centuries,<sup>3</sup> had passed. While doubtless much forest land still continued to be cleared by the lone pioneer, or bog land drained, or waste redeemed, the group idea was dominant. It was real colonization—the simultaneous co-operative migration of blocks of people, who took their cattle and household effects with them from the ancient homeland, and their

<sup>1</sup> The subject of the influence of the Cistercians upon the colonization of the trans-Elbean lands in Germany is too large to be considered in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, III, 352-54; Kretschmer, *Historische Geographie*, sec. 227, where much local literature is referred to.

<sup>3</sup> See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, and compare Lamprecht, *Etat économique de France*, 230-41; Henri See, *Les Classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au moyen-âge*, 212-38.

settlement in a new country. This was the fashion in which the first important settlement of lowlanders was made in Germany, that of 1106 in the marshes of the Weser near Bremen.

The *organized* nature of these displacements of population in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is one of the first things to strike the student. In an article published elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I have endeavored to show this in the case of the history of the colonization of the trans-Elbean Hinterland by peoples of German stock who moved eastward from the older and more densely populated parts of Germany like Westphalia and Franconia. In the history of the influx of the lowland Fleming and Frisian, although the localities where they settled were different, we see the same purpose, the same motives, the same organization, and similar conditions of settlement.

Before entering, however, upon the particular history of the most important lowlander colonies established in Germany a word of caution is necessary. While some of them were initially formed of original settlers from Flanders and Frisia, which in course of time grew both from natural increase of the population and from agglomeration owing to the occasional arrival of new immigrants, on the other hand numbers of these Flemish and Frisian colonies in Germany evidently were not composed of *original* lowlanders,<sup>2</sup> but were offshoots of the mother-group. Confusion arises from the loose terminology of the sources, which do not always distinguish between Flemish and Dutch settlers, nor between original lowlander settlements and colonies derived from these. The lowland strain inclined to thin with each succeeding generation as the newcomers intermarried with their German neighbors, or with the local Wendish population which remained in its ancestral habitat. Finally, to confuse the investigator still more, the nature and institutions of these lowlander colonies were sometimes copied

<sup>1</sup> My article on "German East Colonization," *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> For example, Lüntzel in mentioning the settlement established by Bishop Udo of Hildesheim calls it a Flemish colony, whereas the names of the four men with whom the bishop made the contract are obviously Frisian, i.e., Dutch, as Vogel, *op. cit.*, xi, has pointed out. Again, the fact that the Flemish form of landholding is found to obtain around Uebigau, Schweinitz, and Domnitzsch in the later Middle Ages does not prove that these places were settled by original Flemish colonists (Schulze, 130, n. 1).

by real German colonies, so that there are examples of the latter which bear the earmarks of Holland or Flanders, though they actually contained no inhabitant of that stock.<sup>1</sup>

The chief source of information for the history of these low-lander colonies is of a documentary nature.<sup>2</sup> Of the chronicles Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* is far the most valuable. Philology has been an important auxiliary science in tracing the genesis of surnames and the names of places; and archaeology has thrown some light upon the subject.<sup>3</sup>

These Dutch and Flemish colonies in mediaeval Germany, as might be expected, were more numerous near the country whence the settlers came. The marsh lands of the lower Weser were the earliest place of settlement, then the lower and middle Elbe and its tributaries, then the Oder region. Traces of Netherlanders are to be found in Galicia, in Austria, and in the Carpathians. But little positive information is to be had concerning them.<sup>4</sup> The farther Baltic coast seems to have been settled chiefly by immigrants from Westphalia, although the dune and marsh topography might be presumed to have attracted the people from the Low Countries.<sup>5</sup> The high uplands of Germany and the mountainous region of the Erzgebirge and the Carpathians were usually avoided by them. They preferred cutting reed grass and digging turf to clearing timber and mining.

The Flemish settlements near Waldheim and Altenburg (where even now there is a locality named Flemmingen) and the Dutch and Flemish (*qui et Flamingi*) colony near Koesen, which were certainly established there before 1140, that is, before the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Pforte, are exceptional, for the reason that they found lodgment in a mountainous and forest country instead of a river plain.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen zur Gesch. der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Meitzen, II, 358; Kretschmer, 374.

<sup>4</sup> Kaindl, *Gesch. der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern* (2 vols.) (Gotha, 1907), II, 208; Knüll, 94-95.

<sup>5</sup> Kretschmer, 367-68; Lamprecht, III, 305.

<sup>6</sup> Schulze, 129, note.

The earliest record of Netherlandish settlement in Germany is found in the *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* for the year 1062, when a small group of these immigrants was settled in the moors along the left bank of the Weser by the great archbishop Adalbert.<sup>1</sup> The fall of Adalbert and the plundering of the bishopric by the Billunger, coupled with the anarchy of Germany for so many years during the reign of Henry IV, probably deterred further immigration for a long time.<sup>2</sup>

Things rapidly changed, however, soon after the century mark was turned. In 1106 Archbishop Frederick of Hamburg-Bremen energetically revived his predecessor's policy, and granted "certain lands which are uncultivated, swampy, and useless" to his own people to persons "who are called Hollanders," and who were apparently refugees, for the charter recites that they came to the archbishop and "earnestly begged" for leave to settle on the moors.<sup>3</sup> The prelate, "considering that their settlement would be profitable," granted their request. The lands were divided into rectangular blocks measuring 720 "royal" rods in length and 30 in width. The settlers were to pay one penny (*denarius*) annually for each hide or holding, to give every eleventh sheaf of grain, every tenth lamb, every tenth goat, every tenth goose, and a tenth of the honey and flax for tithes, besides a penny for each colt and a farthing (*obolus*) for each calf on St. Martin's Day. A tithe of these tithes was set aside by the archbishop for the support of the parish churches, and each priest was to have one hide of land. They agreed to pay every year two marks for every one hundred hides for the privilege of retaining their own law and holding their own courts for the settlement of all their differences in secular matters. This they asked "because they feared they would suffer from the injustice of foreign judges." But the bishop's court was to be a court of appeal.

The success of the enterprise must have been soon manifest. For almost immediately afterward Bishop Udo of Hildesheim established a colony of Flemings at Eschershausen, west of the

<sup>1</sup> Lamprecht, III, 372.

<sup>2</sup> See my article in *American Journal of Theology*, XX (1916), 227-28.

<sup>3</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 1. There is an English translation in Thatcher-MacNeal, *Source Book for Mediaeval History*, No. 298. For commentary, Meitzen, III, 264-68. Map 86 is a luminous exposition of the text.

Harz,<sup>1</sup> and Dietrich of Halberstadt undertook the settlement of the lowlands between the Bode and the Ocker rivers.<sup>2</sup> Within two years after 1106 the promotion of Dutch and Flemish immigration for the redemption of swamp land became an organized effort of the clergy and lay nobles of Lower Germany. In 1108 the archbishop of Magdeburg, the bishops of Merseburg, Naumburg, Meissen, Brandenburg, and Counts Otto (of . . . ), Wibert (of . . . ), Ludwig (of . . . ), "and all the greater and lesser lords of eastern Saxony" (*universi orientalis Saxonie majores et minores*) united in a joint circular petition to the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Aachen and Liège, the duke of Lower Lorraine, Robert, count of Flanders, and others, urging them to encourage the emigration of their surplus and hungry population into Lower Germany, which was represented, not unlike land-promotion schemes today, as a land flowing with milk and honey.<sup>3</sup>

We do not know what the immediate effect of this endeavor was. But by the middle of the century Flemish and Frisian immigration into North Germany was in full swing. Of the German nobles at this time Adolph of Holstein was the most active in this effort. "In 1143," says Helmold, "because the land was sparsely peopled, Count Adolph sent messengers into all the regions roundabout, even into Flanders and Holland, [the bishopric of] Utrecht, Westphalia, and Frisia, to proclaim that all who were in want of land might come with their families and receive the best of soil, a spacious country rich in crops, abounding in fish and flesh, and of exceeding good pasturage."<sup>4</sup> The marsh lands of the lowest course of the Elbe at this time were the special region of colonization, where Eutin and Süssel were settled by Dutch and Frisian pioneers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 2. The original charter is lost. We know the fact from the confirmation of it by Udo's successor, Bernhard. For another such colony see Schulze, 158, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *op. cit.*, vii.

<sup>3</sup> The text of this remarkable document is in Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 3, where references are also given to a large amount of literature dealing with it.

<sup>4</sup> Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, I, chap. 57.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Helmold confuses "Frisians" and "Flemings." For full information regarding these settlements see Gloy, *Der Gang der Germanisation in Ost-Holstein* (Kiel, 1894), 17 f.; J. von Schröder and H. Biernatzki, *Topographie der Herzogtümer Holstein und Lauenburg*, I (Oldenburg, 1855), 6. The settlement of the Elbe marshes must, however, have been begun before 1144. For evidence see Wendt, *op. cit.*, II, 31.

The furious racial and religious war which broke out in 1147, known as the Wendish Crusade, devastated the whole eastern frontier of Saxon Germany from Magdeburg to Holstein. The new Flemish and Frisian settlements were imperiled at the moment when many of the men had returned to their old homes in the Low Countries to bring back the residue of their possessions which they had left there. When the infuriated Wagri burst into the region with fire and sword they found less than a hundred fighting men in the blockhouses which had been erected to protect the villages, instead of four hundred. Fortunately the Wends, while they hated the Saxons for their oppression of them, did not confound the Flemish and Dutch incomers with their German enemies. The frightened villagers, who could not have resisted if they had so dared, were spared, they and their herds and crops.<sup>1</sup> Alone the garrison in the blockhouse at Süssel, under the leadership of a priest named Gerlach, braved the foe.<sup>2</sup> What destruction did befall the colony, not without reason, was attributed to the violence of their Holsteiner neighbors, who were jealous of the industry of the settlers and hated them as "foreigners."<sup>3</sup>

The effect of the Wendish Crusade in 1147 was to open large tracts of border land to occupation which hitherto had been still precariously held by the Slavs, and a wave of Dutch and Flemish settlers followed hard upon a great influx of Westphalian colonists into the territory east of the Elbe, along both the lower and the middle course of the river.<sup>4</sup>

The promotion of this movement was participated in by all classes of landed proprietors—dukes, margraves, counts, bishops, abbots. The greatest of these were Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg and Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg. The amount

<sup>1</sup> Helmold, chap. 63, to the end.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 64.

<sup>3</sup> The Holsteiners called these lowlander incomers "Rustri" (*ibid.*, 158 and n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> This appears from a survey made by Bishop Anselm of Havelberg in 1150, after the Wendish Crusade was over, and is contained in the new *Foundationsprivileg* of Conrad III: ". . . et cum prænominatae civitates et villae saepe irruentibus paganis vastatae sunt ac depopolatae adeo, ut vel nullo vel raro habitatore incolantur, volumus atque praecipimus, ut idem episcopus liberam absque contradictione habeat facultatem ibidem ponendi et locandi colonos de quacunque gente voluerit vel habere potuerit."—Riedel, *Codex Diplom. Brand.*, II, 438.



of lowlander blood infused with German in the middle of the twelfth century in the basin of the Havel River must have been considerable.<sup>1</sup> These tenacious lowlanders eagerly attacked the sodden soil. Thousands of acres of swamp land in course of time were redeemed by them. For example, documents of the year 1148 describe the region around Brettenburg on the river Stör as a huge morass. In the year 1340 the Dutch communities of Cronenmoor and Lütteringe are described as prosperous farming localities.<sup>2</sup> That the main body of settlers in this part of Holstein was of Dutch origin Meitzen has shown from the fact that Christian I of Denmark in 1470 issued a decree canceling the jurisdiction of Dutch law in the Kremper and Wilster marshlands and substituting Danish law instead.<sup>3</sup>

No lord of North Germany was more active in promoting the colonization and settlement of these Dutch and Flemish immigrants than Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg. In this policy he was ably assisted by the bishops, especially Wichmann of Magdeburg. Except possibly Rainald of Dassel, Frederick Barbarossa's heroic archbishop of Cologne, and the versatile Christian of Mainz, who was for so long his viceroy in Italy, twelfth-century Germany had no abler prelate than Wichmann. On the paternal side he was descended from the Billunger dukes of Saxony, on his mother's from the margraves of Lausitz and Meissen.<sup>4</sup> After having completed his theological studies at Paris, Wichmann was successively prior of the chapter of Halberstadt, bishop of Naumburg (1148), and in the first year of Frederick I's reign was made archbishop of Magdeburg by him. He was a faithful adherent of the emperor through all the long conflict with Alexander III and one of the chief negotiators of the peace of Constance in 1183. He was an implacable adversary of Henry the Lion and a principal in the catastrophe which overcame the mighty Saxon duke in 1181. In that year, with the aid of the bishop of Halberstadt, he laid siege to Haldensleben. But the count of Lippe, who defended the place, diverted

<sup>1</sup> Köttschke, *Staat und Kultur im Zeitalter der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* (Leipzig, 1910), 30-34.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, III, 354.

<sup>3</sup> Heinemann, 222.

<sup>4</sup> Fechner, *Leben des Erzbischofs Wichmann von Magdeburg, Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.*, V, 417-562.

the course of the Ohre River. Nothing daunted, Wichmann threw up dikes around the town so that the water overflowed the walls and drove the inhabitants to seek refuge in church towers and granaries. Wichmann then built a fleet of boats and with this little navy triumphantly sailed over the walls of Haldensleben and so captured it.<sup>1</sup>

Although Albrecht had received titular investiture of the margraviate of Brandenburg in 1134(?), the Slav element in the Mark was not wholly subdued until 1157,<sup>2</sup> an achievement materially aided by Wichmann. Already in the last year of his episcopacy at Naumburg, Wichmann had imported a colony of Flemings and settled them at Schul-Pforta, where they long retained their own laws and gave their name—Flemmingen or Flaminghe—to the locality.<sup>3</sup> Six years after his transference to Magdeburg, when Albrecht's domination had been made complete in Brandenburg, Wichmann began the active importation of Flemish and Dutch settlers into the unoccupied marsh lands of the Havel. Wichmann was not the original pioneer in thus settling these colonies along the upper Elbe, for already in 1154 Bishop Gerung of Meissen had established a group of them at Kühren near Wurzen.<sup>4</sup> But Wichmann was the greatest promoter of these enterprises, more so even than Albrecht the Bear himself.<sup>5</sup>

The details of the history of the settlement of these Dutch and Flemish colonies by Albrecht and Wichmann may be traced in the *Urkunden*. But Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* has one chapter<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Montis Sereni*, anno 1182, in Mencken, *SS. rerum germanicarum, prae-cipue saxonicarum*, Vol. II; Raumer, *Reg.*, No. 1558.

<sup>2</sup> This information is contained in the fragments of the *Old Chronicle* of Brandenburg, to be found in Heinemann, 422; cf. Lavissee, *La Marche de Brandebourg sous la dynastie Ascanienne*, 71-72.

<sup>3</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 9; Wendt, II, 35. For a complete study see Rudolph, *Die niederländischen Kolonien der Altmark im 12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1889.

<sup>4</sup> Kötzschke, *Quellen*, No. 10; Vogel, vii; Schulze, 159.

<sup>5</sup> Kötzschke, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 18; Wendt, II, 30 f.; Heinemann, *Urkunden*, Nos. 38-41; Rudolph, *op. cit.* Hollanders were established at Krakau near Magdeburg, and at Kleutsch near Dessau; Flemings around Naundorf and Pechau near Magdeburg; Westphalians at Poppendorf, across the Elbe, opposite Magdeburg, *in pratis et paludibus*.

<sup>6</sup> I, chap. lxxxviii.

descriptive of Albrecht's colonizing policy which is so excellent that it is here translated:

In that time (*ca.* 1157) the margrave Adelbert, surnamed the Bear, had possession of eastern Slavia, who by God's care over him very greatly prospered in his lot.<sup>1</sup> For he conquered [*misit sub jugum*] all the territory of the Brizani,<sup>2</sup> Stoderani,<sup>3</sup> and many other tribes dwelling along the Havel and the Elbe, and overcame those of them in rebellion.<sup>4</sup> Finally, as the Slavs gradually disappeared [*deficientibus sensim Slavis*], he sent to Utrecht and the regions of the [lower] Rhine, as well as to those peoples who live near the ocean and suffer the violence of the sea [*patiebantur vim maris*], namely, Hollanders, Zealanders, Flemings, and brought a great multitude of them and caused them to dwell in the towns and villages of the Slavs.

He greatly furthered the immigration of settlers [*advenae*] into the bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg, because the churches multiplied there and the value of the tithes greatly increased.<sup>5</sup>

In this time Dutch settlers began to occupy the east bank of the Elbe. From the city of Salzwedel these Hollanders settled all the marsh and meadow land [*terram palustrem atque campestrum*] which is called Balsemerlande and Marscinerlande,<sup>6</sup> being very many towns and villages as far as the Bohemian frontier.<sup>7</sup> The Saxons are said formerly [*olim*] to have inhabited these lands

<sup>1</sup> Helmold's phrase is *in funiculo sortis*. The figure is derived from the method of surveying land by measuring it off with a rope. Helmold several times mentions this form of mensuration, e.g., chaps. 69, 71, 77, 84. Cf. my article on "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *op. cit.*, 385-86.

<sup>2</sup> The Brizani were one of the small tribes belonging to the Baltic branch of the Slavs; they dwelt near Havelberg (Riedel, *Der Mark Brandenburg*, 271 f.).

<sup>3</sup> A similar tribe in the same region (Riedel, 306 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Albrecht the Bear recovered Brandenburg (the city) in 1157.

<sup>5</sup> For the terrible burden of the tithe imposed upon the conquered Wends see my article, "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *op. cit.*, 210-17, 224, 386.

<sup>6</sup> Balsemerlande, Pagus Belxa, was the territory around Stendal in the diocese of Halberstadt. Marscinerlande is supposed to have been between Arnesburg and Werben, but Rudolph, *op. cit.*, 37, has questioned it.

<sup>7</sup> Helmold's words are *usque ad saltum Boemicum*. In chap. 80, 150, he uses the same phrase. Whether Helmold, who lived in Holstein, knew the difference between the Boehmerwald and the Erzgebirge may be doubted. Dehio, *Brem. Jahrb.*, VI, 85 f., thinks the phrase refers to the Erzgebirge; Rudolph, *op. cit.*, 37, to the Boehmerwald. Schmiedler, the last editor of Helmold, is sure that the latter is not meant, and not certain that it applies to the former. I have translated the word *saltum* as "frontier," which, while not an exact rendering of the word, is sufficiently indefinite to express the hazy state of Helmold's mind.

in the time of the Ottos,<sup>1</sup> as can still be seen in the remains of old levees which had buttressed the banks of the Elbe in the swampy land of the Balsami. But afterward, when the Slavs prevailed<sup>2</sup> the Saxons were killed and the territory has been possessed by the Slavs until our time. But now, because God has generously given health and victory to our duke and the other princes, the Slavs everywhere have been worn down [*protriti*] and driven out, and peoples "strong and without number" have been brought in from the borders of the sea,<sup>3</sup> and have taken possession of the fields [*terminos*], and have built towns and churches and increased in wealth beyond all expectation.

Albrecht the Bear seems to have preferred the agency of others in promoting lowlander colonization of his territories to direct enterprise by himself. His favorite agencies were the Cistercians and the Praemonstratensians. In 1159 Abbot Arnold of Ballenstadt purchased two localities "formerly possessed by the Slavs" from the margrave, and sold holdings in them to "certain Flemings who had petitioned permission to occupy them and to preserve their own law."<sup>4</sup> In 1170 Otto of Brandenburg gave two *Dörfer*, Dalchau and Drusedow, to the Johannite Order, which had been settled by Hollanders during his father's lifetime.<sup>5</sup>

In the Weser region the initiative begun by Frederick of Bremen was continued by later archbishops. In 1158 Archbishop Hartwig I established a colony of Hollanders on the Ochtum, a small affluent of the Weser.<sup>6</sup> In 1170 Friedrich von Machenstedt, founder of the monastery of Heiligenrode, southwest of Bremen, received permission from his successor, Archbishop Baldwin, to settle the swamp lands between Brinkum and Machenstedt, west of the Ochtum, with Hollanders.<sup>7</sup> This example is interesting because Baldwin himself was a Hollander by birth, and in 1178 returned to his native land as bishop of Utrecht, over which he ruled until his death in 1196.

In Saxony the precedent of Dutch and Flemish colonization, which Adolph of Holstein was the earliest of the lay nobles of

<sup>1</sup> Helmold, I, chaps. 12 and 18.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the great Slav rebellion in 1066. See, for details, my article on "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *op. cit.*, 228-30.

<sup>3</sup> The words are quoted from Joel 1:6.

<sup>4</sup> Kötzsche, *Quellen*, No. 13A.

<sup>6</sup> Vogel, iv.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Germany to introduce, was followed by Henry the Lion, whose intelligent rule owes more to Adolph's example than his biographers have admitted. After all but the last remnants of the wretched Obodrite population were driven out of Mecklenburg in 1160, by a joint expedition of Henry and King Waldemar of Denmark, hundreds of lowlanders were imported into the bottom lands around Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg.<sup>1</sup>

As the end of the twelfth century approaches there is a noticeable falling off in Dutch and Flemish immigration into Lower Germany. How far this decline was due to the great revolution made in North Germany by the fall of Henry the Lion in 1181, or to the growing prosperity of the Low Countries, which, as every scholar knows, reached a high degree of economic development at this time, it does not seem possible to determine. One factor in "slowing down" this immigration perhaps may be found in this, that as the Weser and Elbe marshes increasingly became settled, the next available tracts, in the basin of the Oder, were so far away from the source of immigrant supply that it required unusual activity and unusually favorable terms to induce new settlers to go so far. Probably also the fact that the best marsh lands by 1200 had been taken up had its influence. What remained unoccupied was so huge and so hopelessly miry that simple peasants had neither the capital nor the engineering means to undertake its reclamation. Such enormous tracts of swamp as the Goldene Aue could be successfully drained only by corporate enterprise like that of the Cistercians.

Whatever the reasons, it is certain that there are proportionally fewer examples of the establishment of colonies of Dutch or Flemish in Lower Germany after 1180 than before that date. Hartwig II of Bremen in 1201 established a colony of Hollanders near Bremen, but it is noteworthy that exceedingly attractive terms were required to prevail upon them to come.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heinemann, 227; Henry the Lion founded a colony of Hollanders in 1164 around Erteneburg (Meitzen, III, 358).

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, II, 350-51; Kretschmer, 368; Knüll, 7-8, Lamprecht, III, 326; Kötzschke, *Das Unternehmertum in der ostdeutschen Kolonisation des Mittelalters* (Bautzen, 1894), 5-8. It is unfortunate that Kötzschke has not included this record in his *Quellen*.

By the beginning of the thirteenth century the Hinterland of mediaeval Germany was not the valley of the Elbe, but the valley of the Oder. The "Far" East of earlier Germany had now become the "Middle" East,<sup>1</sup> and Breslau had taken the place of Magdeburg and Brandenburg as a frontier city. In the thirteenth century Silesia and the territory of Lebus in farther Brandenburg, where the March touched the Oder, not the bottom lands of the Weser and the Elbe, not lower Saxony and Mecklenburg, were the parts of Germany whither the tide of overflow population from the Low Countries directed itself. In Lebus, where the population still was heavily Slavonic (it was the ancient land of the Leubuzzi), the local house was very active in attracting colonists from Flanders and Eastphalia, from Hesse and Thuringia. In the thirty-five years between 1204-39 it is said that over 160,000 acres of waste or bottom land was redeemed by them.<sup>2</sup> In lower Silesia, where the people were Polish in blood, there was a great influx of German colonists in the time of Boleslav the Tall and his son Conrad, who seem chiefly to have come from Westphalia, and it may be surmised that most of the Flemish immigrants who entered Silesia came into the country in the wake of these. Zedlitz, west of the Oder near Steinau, seems to have been one of these settlements, and Pogel near Wohrlau certainly was a Flemish colony.<sup>3</sup>

In general, it may be said that east of the Elbe River the Cistercian monks and the Praemonstratensian canons were more active in furthering lowlander immigration than either the bishops or the feudal nobles, while as to Prussia, the whole exploitation of

<sup>1</sup> Professor F. J. Turner has made this distinction classic for the history of the American frontier between the "Old West," the "New West," and the "Far West," and I have applied it here.

<sup>2</sup> Fisher, *Mediaeval Empire*, II, 16. I do not know upon what authority he depends for this statement.

<sup>3</sup> In the middle of the twelfth century the Augustins of Breslau brought a colony of Walloons into the Altmark (Grünhagen, *Les colonies wallones de Silesie*, Brussels, 1867), and later some serfs from Namur are found in Silesia. The Walloon immigration into Silesia preceded that of the Flemings, but they were never numerous. Their coming was rather an infiltration than a migration. Since Grünhagen's study, Levison (*Zur Gesch. des Bischofs Walter von Breslau, 1149-1169, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Gesch. und Altertum Schlesiens*, XXV [1901], 353-57) has thrown new light upon this obscure Walloon population. Cf. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 138, n. 3.

the land was in the hands of the Teutonic Order. The colonizing work of the two former is a subject which will be taken up in another article, and the activities of the great military order of the north territorially fall outside of Germany proper.

As to Dutch and Flemish immigration into Southwestern Germany, there is little to be written. Leopold VI of Austria in 1106 issued a charter bestowing certain rights and liberties upon *burgenses nostros qui apud nos Flandrenses nuncupatur in civitate nostra Wiena*.<sup>1</sup> But the intensely mountainous nature of much of the Austrian and Hungarian lands repelled settlers who were used to a fen country. The Erzgebirge and the Carpathians had more attraction for Saxon miners from the Harz than for them. There is no evidence of organized or group colonization by Flemings or Dutch in Southeastern Europe. The few lowlanders found in Vienna or Hermannstadt probably percolated into the country individually or at the most in family groups.<sup>2</sup>

It was natural that the changes and new conditions here outlined should develop new institutions. Almost from the very inception of the movement it acquired an organized character. The joint proclamation issued in 1108 by Adolph of Holstein and other Saxon nobles is an indication of this. The mechanism of both feudal and ecclesiastical government was early used to promote and govern the movement of Dutch and Flemish colonization in mediaeval Germany. In the rivalry between the two forms that of the church was superior to that of the secular nobles; and of the two branches of the clergy the system of the Cistercian Order was superior to all.

One of the earliest and most influential institutions that developed was the office and profession of "promoter" or *locator*. Usually he was a bailiff or steward of the feudal domains of some prince or prelate, who as agent of the lord surveyed the tract

<sup>1</sup> This valuable charter is reprinted from Herrgott, *Monumenta domus Austriacae*, etc. (1750-72), in Reich, *Select Documents Illustrating Med. and Mod. History*, 264-65. Kaindl, *op. cit.*, II, 206-10, has summarized the information to be found. For other special literature see Schwind-Dopsch, *Urkunden zur Verfassungsgesch. d. deutsch-oesterr. Erblande* (Innsbrück, 1895), 38.

<sup>2</sup> Kötzschke, 53A; *Archiv f. Kunde Oest. Geschichtsq.*, X, 92; Huber, *Gesch. Oesterreich*, I, 488.

intended for colonization, and then, armed with the terms of settlement, betook himself into the Low Countries and there organized a company of "homeseekers" whom he conducted into the new territory. His fee was commonly a preferred share in the enterprise in the form of an allotment of land. Naturally he often also became an important official in the new community and medium between the settlers and the reigning noble. The first mention of a *locator* occurs in the year 1149.<sup>1</sup> But it is evident from the allusion that the office was already an established one. In fact, this sort of real estate agency became a profession.<sup>2</sup> Even cities were established in the same manner.<sup>3</sup>

There is much variation in detail in these settlements, but a striking general uniformity both in method of distribution of the allotments and in institutions. The model for almost all agreements seems to have been the charter of Archbishop Frederick of Bremen to the men of Utrecht whom he settled in the Weser marshes in 1108. Instead of the nucleated manorial village, with its peasant strips or plowlands in the spring and autumn "plantings" separated by dividing "balks" of turf, its demesne land, its group of huddled cottages in one corner of the manor, its array of irksome farm tasks and "boons," these colonial villages were laid out in rectangular blocks—an American would call them "sections" and "quarter-sections"—of 40, 60, 80, or more acres, so that each homesteader had a farm composed of contiguous land, and not, as under the manorial régime, an assembly of widely scattered holdings. We find these "manors of Dutch measurement" among both the Dutch and the Flemings and among new settlements of German colonists, who recognized the enormous advantage of the practice over the old system.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meitzen, II, 348.

<sup>2</sup> On the institution of the *locator* see my article in *Proceedings of American Historical Association* (1916), n. 81, and references there given. Kötzsche's *Unternehmertum*, etc., is the most recent study of it.

<sup>3</sup> Poeschl, *loc. cit.*, is full of evidence on this point. More briefly described in Heil, *Deutsche Städte und Bürger im Mittelalter* (Teubner's Sammlung, Band 43).

<sup>4</sup> These "mansus Hollanriensis dimensionis" are frequently mentioned in the charters, e.g., Kötzsche, *Quellen*, No. 19; Riedel, *Der Mark Brandenburg*, 51; *Codex Diplom.* I, 338. Elsewhere they are called "Flemish"—*mansos ad mensuram*



The village, instead of being a huddled group of cottages, was a long street, every house situated at the near end of the holding facing the road. Behind it lay the farm acres, the meadow, the wood lot, in this order if the "lay" of the land so permitted. Somewhere, usually near the center of the village, were the church and the priest's house, the priest, besides the local tithe, having a holding of his own (called "Goddess peece" in England) which was worked either by parish serfs or by the peasantry of the village. If there were several villages close together, a number of them collectively were formed into a parish.<sup>1</sup> The priest's house and that of the *locator* were generally the most substantial and commodious structures in the community.<sup>2</sup>

These Flemish and Dutch settlers brought their own house architecture with them in many cases. While doubtless the original "shack" might have been rudely built of logs, the permanent edifice was often of homemade brick made out of the local clay, with timber traverses and, of course, timbered superstructure. The floors too were brick; peat, with which the lowlander was familiar, but which the German peasant had no knowledge of, was burned in the fireplace. Sometimes the front of the house was decorated with rude and curious carvings, or painted pictures of horse heads, swans, windmills, etc. Of course these luxurious appointments obtained only among the more well-to-do settlers who possessed considerable land which was well diked and drained. Poorer settlers on small holdings frequently exposed to flood and freshet had no means to indulge in the blandishments of art.<sup>3</sup>

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*Flandrensium* (Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 13C and 50C). They were also known as "mansus regales" or "Königshufen" (Sommerfeld, *Gesch. der Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern in Schmoller's Forschungen*, XIII, Heft V, 140, 149). Cf. my article on "German East Colonization," *op. cit.*, n. 76. Meitzen has an exhaustive monograph, *Volkshufe und Königshufe* (Festgabe f. G. Hanssen, 1889), 1-60, republished in Conrad's *Handwörterbuch*, IV, 496.

<sup>1</sup> On these Flemish "street" villages see Blanchard, *op. cit.*, 423-27, who gives some interesting maps. Cf. Meitzen, II, 47-53, 343-44; Inama-Sternegg, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgesch.*, I, 439-43. Cf. my article, cited just above, n. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Lamprecht, III, 364-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Meitzen, II, 359-60, has a detailed account.

One of the primary inducements always offered to these settlers was exemption from the exasperating and multiple manorial obligations which burdened them in the homeland to such a degree that these grievances were a real cause of emigration. The sources abound with evidence on this point. Usually it was put negatively, that is to say, the charter clearly defined what should be the rights, duties, and obligations of both parties to the transaction, which, so to speak, became a written constitution for the government of the community. Sometimes, however, in order to make the colonists doubly assured, after reciting the duties and obligations the charter went on specifically to narrate *from* what the settlers should be exempt, so that their freedom was doubly defined.<sup>1</sup>

But in common with much that was new these settlers commingled some things that were old. They tenaciously clung to the preservation of their own native legal customs in the new land. The persistence of this characteristic trait of feudal particularism, which itself is traceable to the old Germanic legal theory of the personality of law,<sup>2</sup> in spite of the fluxing of the old order of things and the development of so many new institutions, is a striking example of the conservatism of things of the law.<sup>3</sup>

The charters abound with record of this privilege. It appears in the charter of Archbishop Frederick of Bremen (1106), in the earliest instance of Dutch colonization, where their traditional *judicia et placita* are guaranteed;<sup>4</sup> in that of Bishop Wichmann of Naumburg (1152) to the Hollander colony in Schul-Pforta;<sup>5</sup> in that of Bishop Gerung of Meissen (1154), where the provision is

<sup>1</sup> Item voluit idem archiepiscopus, quod omnes villici et cultores agrorum ejusdem ecclesiae liberi esse deberent *ab omni censu civitatis vel villae et quod essent liberi ab omni advocatia*," etc.—Henric. Wolteri, *Chron. Brem.* (ca. 1142), cited by Inama-Sternegg, II, 29, note. For other examples see Schulze, 157, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Meitzen, II, 349.

<sup>3</sup> Even the *Stadtrecht* of Goslar, 1256, although it was a mining-town where few lowlanders settled, shows traces of Flemish law, e.g., the "institutio que vulgar. Kura" points to the Keuren of Flanders. The town coinage of Jüterbock and Bitterfeld for many years showed the Flemish origin of the places (Schulze, 126-27, n. 2). The Belgian scholar Van Houtte has made a special study of the survival of Flemish law among these Flemish colonies in mediaeval Germany (*Le Droit flamand et hollandais dans les chartes de colonisation en Allemagne au XII<sup>e</sup> et au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bruges, 1899).

<sup>4</sup> Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 9.

curiously worded: *in placitis que cum ipsis et apud ipsos*,<sup>1</sup> in 1159 in that of Abbot Arnold of Ballenstedt (*jure suo*); in that of Wichmann of Magdeburg in 1166 (*jure Hollandensium*); in the swamp colony established by Archbishop Baldwin in 1170 between Brinkum and Mackenstedt;<sup>2</sup> in the Kremper and Wilster marsh settlements.<sup>3</sup>

In the nature of things these imported judicial institutions were assimilated in course of time with those of the German population among whom these Dutch and Flemish incomers settled. But in some cases these special laws endured a long time. The Dutch colonies of Zarnekau and Gumale in Holstein preserved their "Hollensch Recht" and did not go over to "Holsten Recht" until 1438;<sup>4</sup> Christian I of Denmark in 1470 canceled the Dutch law of the Hollander settlement around Breitenburg in the marshes of the Stör;<sup>5</sup> the statutes of the Flemminger *Societät* in Bitterfeld were in vogue as late as the eighteenth century, and remains of them are still traceable in this locality.<sup>6</sup>

It is a noteworthy fact that these Dutch and Flemish immigrants, especially the latter, were almost wholly a rural peasantry and not a townspeople, although the Flemish towns by the twelfth century were already well developed. The attractions of commerce and industry dissuaded this latter class from emigrating. In consequence the history of German town life in the Middle Ages shows little evidence of Flemish influence.<sup>7</sup> Nor do Dutch or Flemings appear in the records as servile *ministeriales* and household servants. In the war of 1166 waged by Henry the Lion's rebellious vassals Count Christian of Amerland seized Bremen with a body of "Frisian" troops,<sup>8</sup> but this is the only instance of the kind which I have met.

On the other hand, their effect upon the material development of the open country, especially bottom lands, was very great. While the Wends were traditionally a marsh folk, their crude

<sup>1</sup> Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Wendt, II, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 13A, 14; Vogel, iv.

<sup>5</sup> Meitzen, II, 354.

<sup>3</sup> Köttschke, *Quellen*, No. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Schulze, 130.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 130, n. 3. Guilds of Flemish weavers are traceable in Nordhausen, Langensalza, and Görlitz.

<sup>8</sup> Helmold, I, chap. 103: *Fresonum manu*.

agriculture was incapable of the engineering necessary to drain the swamps. As for the German, he was a woodlander by ancestral association and by preference; even the Low German of the North German plain usually avoided the river bottoms, until the process of feudal inclosure of the *Almend* and the forests drove him to them.<sup>1</sup>

But the incoming Flemish and Dutch settlers had a natural aptitude for this kind of labor. They were used to bog and fen, to peat marshes and swamps, and by inclination preferred lowlands to uplands. The great landed proprietors of Germany who promoted their settlement had a clear perception of their economic worth; hence the large privileges accorded them. The charter of Bishop Gerung lauds the "strong men of Flanders" (*strenuos viros ex Flandrensi*) who will redeem the waste of swamps around Meissen. Besides ditching, diking, and draining these lowlander immigrants materially helped the country by building roads.<sup>2</sup> Another service to which we find several allusions is the extermination of snakes by them.<sup>3</sup>

One might think that these humble laborers who settled where others would not go and hardly competed at all with the German would have been welcomed by him. But this was not the case. Helmold relates that the Holsteiners, not without reason, were suspected of firing the villages of Flemish and Dutch settlers during the Wendish crusade "on account of hatred of these immigrants" (*advenae*),<sup>4</sup> who were called "Rustri" in Holstein.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this process of "inclosures" see Lamprecht, *D.G.*, III, 53-58; von der Goltz, *Landwirtschaft*, 93-98; Roscher, *Ackerbau*, etc. (11th ed., 1885), secs. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> Kötzsche, *Quellen*, II, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 2 (p. 7), 4 (p. 11).

<sup>4</sup> Helmold, I, chaps. 63-64.

<sup>5</sup> The term first appears in Schol. 3 in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, from whom Helmold, chap. i, 83, borrows it. See Pertz's edition of Adam of Bremen, the note to the schol. Helmold, I, chap. 64, quotes at length, the harangue of a German priest named Gerlach against the Flemings, in which he said: "Nulla gens detestabilior Fresis. Sane fetet eis odor noster." Every anthropologist and ethnologist knows the importance of this phenomenon among primitive peoples. So the children of Israel in Egypt complained to Moses and Aaron: "Ye have made our savor to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh."—Exodus 5:21. Even to this day in Germany, from the Weser to the Oder, the terms *Vlämsch*, *Vlämischer Kerl*, *Vlämisches Gesicht*, etc., signify "uncouth," "heavy," "rough," "having bad taste."—Schulze, 130, n. 3, at end.

The resentment of the Wends toward them was more reasonable, for the Wends were a few people who often were actually dispossessed by these settlers from the Low Countries. This was particularly the case in Brandenburg around Dessau, Wörlitz, and Pratau, where a ruthless expulsion of the Wends took place under Albrecht the Bear and Wichmann of Magdeburg.<sup>1</sup> In the really eloquent complaint of Pribislav, the Obodrite chieftain, relating the sufferings of his people, which is given at length by Helmold,<sup>2</sup> Flemings and Hollanders are mentioned along with Saxons and Westphalians as those by whom his people have been expelled from their homelands. "Worn down by the coming of these settlers," as honest Helmold says, "the Slavs forsook the country." It was the fate of the Red Man in America.

Lamprecht has said that the greatest deed of the German people in the Middle Ages was their eastward expansion over, and colonization of, the Slavonic lands between the Elbe and the Oder. Most of this long and important labor was done by the Germans themselves. But a not inconsiderable portion of this achievement was due to these nameless pioneers dwelling by the ocean and suffering the violence of the sea, who came to redeem the marshes of the Weser, the Elbe, the Havel, the Oder, and even the Vistula.<sup>3</sup>

Modern Germany has ill requited the service. The hapless children of Belgium no longer, in their street games, "count out" as formerly they did by singing the old ballad:

Naer Oostland willen wy ryden,  
Naer Oostland willen wy mêe,  
Al over die groene heiden,  
Daer isser een betere stêe.

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Helmold, I, 98.

<sup>3</sup> "Dieser Pionierdienst in der Kolonisation des deutschen Ostens ist unter den vielen Grosstaten unserer westlichen Brüder eine der grössten; er soll ihnen unvergessen bleiben in jeder deutschen Geschichte."—Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, III, 342.